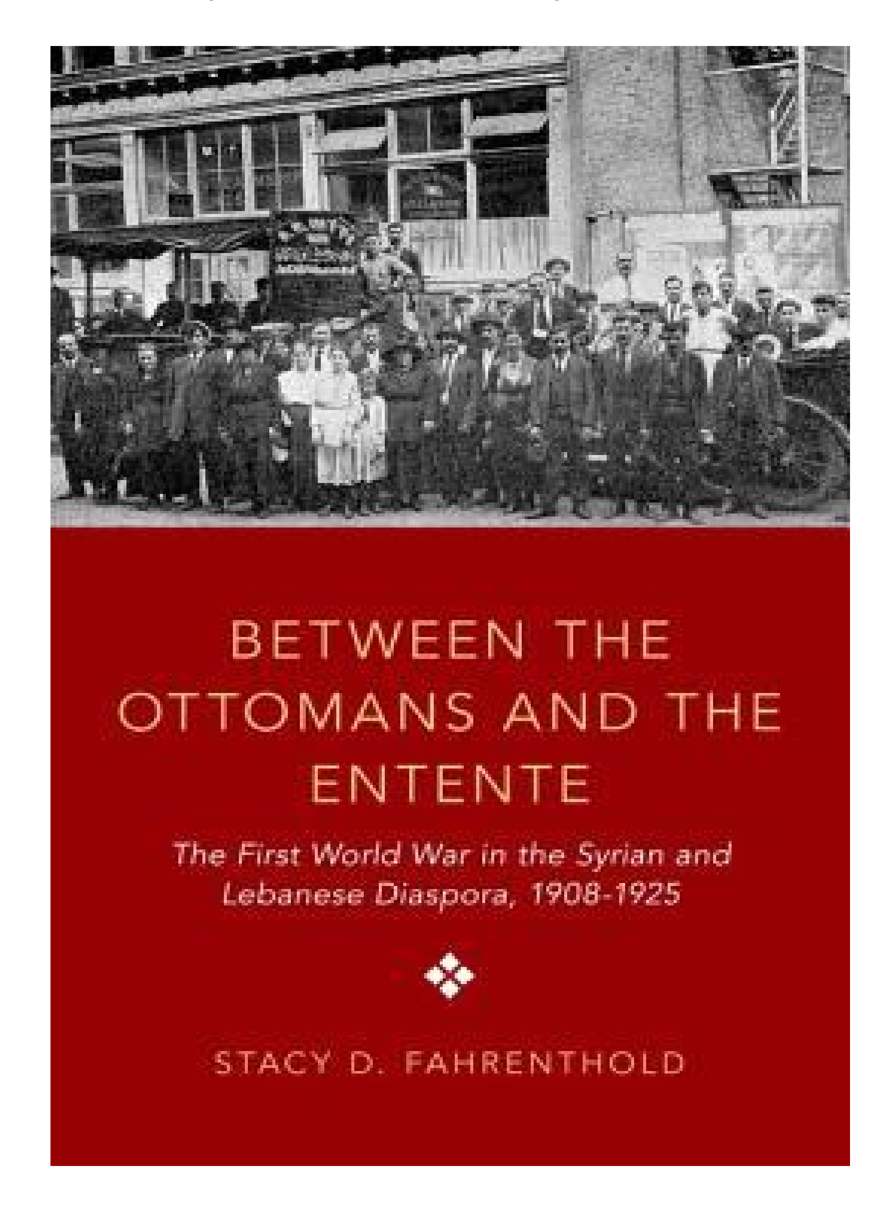

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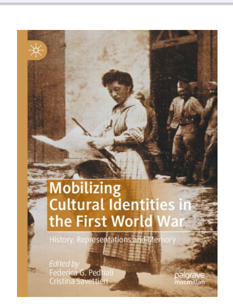
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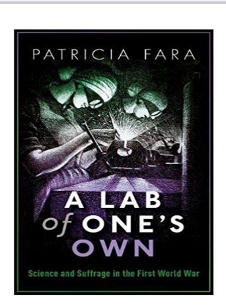
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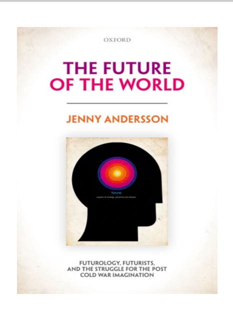
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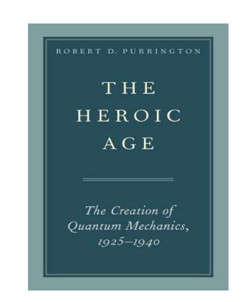
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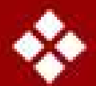
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BETWEEN THE OTTOMANS AND THE ENTENTE

The First World War in the Syrian and Lebanese Diaspora, 1908-1925



STACY D. FAHRENTHOLD

Between the Ottomans and the Entente

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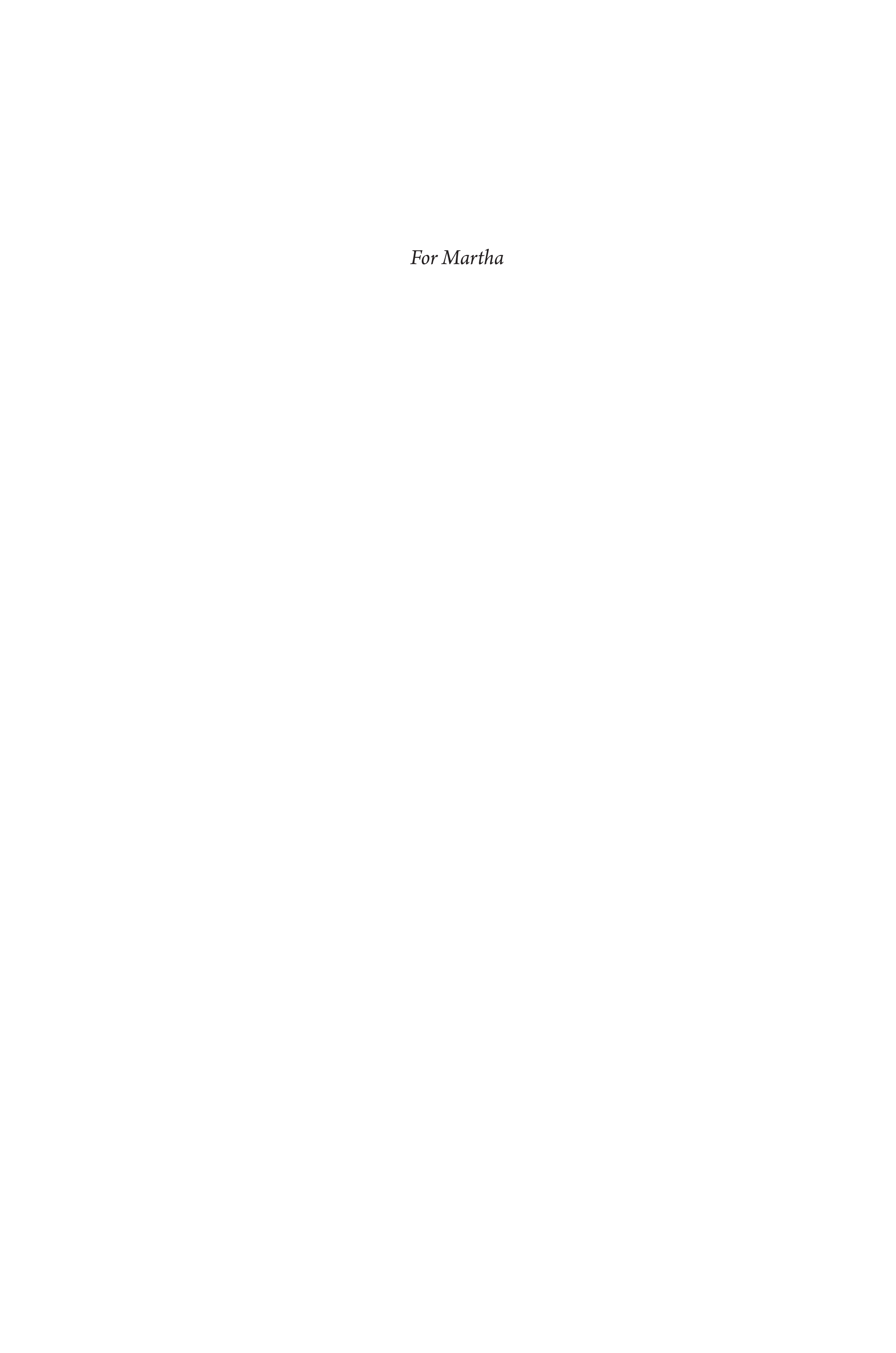
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For Martha

CONTENTS

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And many people have been so generous with me. As a graduate student at Northeastern University, I was privileged to be among excellent scholars, gracious colleagues, and some of the best people I have ever met. Ilham Khuri-Makdisi is as brilliant an advisor as she is a scholar, mentor, and friend. Thank you to Akram Fouad Khater, Laura Frader, and Isa Blumi for providing me abundant, meaningful guidance for this project, first as a dissertation project and then, as a book manuscript. The history department's globally minded scholars made Northeastern a wonderful place to be and to work. I am especially grateful

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Mahjar studies is more than a research field; it is also a community, thanks to a culture of free and open collaboration among scholars working across Middle Eastern, Latin American, North American, and global scales of study. I jokingly call the group the mahjar mafia, but contrary to the name's connotations, I have found scholars in this subfield to be exceptionally generous with one another. Additional thanks to Akram Khater for his tireless work organizing biennial paper workshops at the Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies at North Carolina State University. At those workshops and many others, I was repeatedly astounded by the brilliance of a company of scholars who inhabit this particular migration subfield. To Işıl Acehan, Charlotte Karem Albrecht, Andrew Arsan, Isa Blumi, Jennifer Dueck, Ted Falk, Sarah Gualtieri, Sally Howell, Steven Hyland, John Tofik Karam, Simon Jackson, Christine Lindner, Neda Maghbouleh, Amy Malek, Jacob Norris, Camila Pastor, Graham Pitts, Laura Robson, Vladimir Hamid-Troyansky, and Benjamin Thomas White, thank

you for all our conversations over the years. To each of you (and anyone I left out), I look forward to the next ones. Among the mahjar mafia, I am especially grateful for close friends who critique my drafts and who daily remind me of who I want to be as a scholar: Reem Bailony, Lily Balloffet, Lauren Banko, and Devi Mays. I was fortunate to have Uğur Pece and Omar Duwaji help me locate some of the portraits contained within. Sandrine Mansour and Armen Manuk-Khaloyan also provided crucial archival support. Thank you all.

Interactions with the amazing scholars studying the First World War in the Middle East also enriched my professional development. These scholars pushed me out of my migration comfort zone to consider the multiple ways in which the Ottoman Empire and its French Mandatory successor treated the Syrian mahjar as an offshore frontier province. Special thanks go to Mustafa Aksakal and Elizabeth Thompson for including me in their 2014 NEH summer seminar on World War I in the Middle East at Georgetown University. Thanks, too, to friends and collaborators from that World War I boot camp, especially Annia Ciezadlo, Priya Dixit, Mari Firkatian, Aimee Genell, Dominique Reill, Chris Rominger, Melanie S. Tanielian, and İpek Yosmaoğlu. Among Ottomanists, I would like to thank Lale Can, David Gutman, Janet Klein, Chris Lowe, Elyse Semerdjian, and Sherry Vatter for their insights and feedback on various papers. I am grateful to have had readers within the Syrian Studies Association who were kind in their assessment of this work when it was at the dissertation stage, including Charles Wilkins, Laura Ruiz de Elvira Carrascal, Hasan Kayalı, Stephennie Mulder, Lorenzo Trombetta, and Tina Zintl. Finally, there are always scholars with whom we collaborate without ever meeting. My thanks to Abdul-Karim Rafeq for supporting this project when it was an ill-fated 2011–2012 trip to Damascus, and to William Gervase Clarence-Smith for inspired correspondence at critical turns.

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for constructive audiences at the Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies at North Carolina State University (2012, 2015, and 2017); the Mashriq in the Age of Late Imperialism workshop at Princeton University (2013); the Lines of Identity workshop at University of Manitoba (2015); and the Western Ottomanists' Workshop at the University of California Berkeley (2016).

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Thank you to my grandparents, Martha and David Burton, for always being at the ready with a kind word and a cup of black coffee; to Mara for long walks in the woods; and to my husband, David Schultz, who daily reminds me to step out of my work for a good meal, a good show, and a good sunrise or sunset. My thanks are due, finally, to my editor at Oxford University Press, Susan Ferber, whose incredible and efficient labor has made the publication process so streamlined and enjoyable. I have also benefitted mightily from impressive and thorough interventions by two anonymous reviewers, who constructively helped me ready this work for publication. Thank you. Any errors that remain within are, of course, entirely my own.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Arabic and Ottoman Turkish words are transliterated according to the simplified system employed by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Although Arabic diacritics have been omitted, ʿayns and hamzas have been retained. Ottoman Turkish diacritics have been retained.

ABBREVIATIONS, DRAMATIS PERSONAE, AND KEY TERMS

Organizations

AL — Hizb al-Ittihad al-Lubnani (Alliance Libanaise). Established in Cairo in 1909. Branches in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, and the United States. Originally affiliated with the Ottoman Decentralization Party, but promoted Lebanese independence during the war. Endorsed a French Mandate for Greater Lebanon in 1919, a controversial decision that led the party's president, Iskandar ʿAmmun, to resign and its Latin American chapters to splinter into a rival party, Hizb al-Tahalluf al-Lubnani.

CCS — Comité Central Syrien (al-Lajna al-Suriyya al-Markaziyya). Established in Paris in 1916 by Shukri Ghanim and Georges Samné. Subsidized by the French Foreign Ministry as an advocacy network for Syrian émigrés. Organized war relief, humanitarian aid, and military recruitment across the mahjar, including a 1917 diasporic tour by CCS partisans Qaysar Lakah and Jamil Mardam Bey. A primary instrument of Franco-Syrian soft diplomacy during the war, but eclipsed by the French Foreign Ministry's commitment to a Greater Lebanese state in 1919. Official organ: *Correspondance d'Orient*.

CUP — Committee of Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti). Ruling party of the Ottoman Empire following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution.

FDNP — Free Democratic Nationalist Party (Hizb al-Dimuqrati al-Watani al-Hurr). Established in Buenos Aires in 1919 by Khalil Saʿadih. Hosted the 1919 General Syrian Congress in Buenos Aires. After 1920, its

headquarters transferred to São Paulo. Anticolonial, pro-independence, and Syrian unionist. Official organ: *al-Majalla* (Buenos Aires), *al-Jarida* (São Paulo).

HY Homsi Youth (Homs al-Fatat). Arab nationalist club established in São Paulo in 1915 by Jurj Atlas. Recruited Homsi men for pro-Entente military service. Official organ: *al-Zahrawi*.

LLP Lebanon League of Progress (Jamʿiyyat al-Nahda al-Lubnaniyya). Established in New York City in 1911 by Naʿum Mukarzil. Chapters in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. Aligned with the Beirut Reform Society before 1914. Also aligned with the Cairo Alliance Libanaise, but was more forthrightly Francophile during the war. Processed military recruitment paperwork and French passports for Syrians abroad. Supported the French Mandate for Greater Lebanon. Official organs: *al-Huda* (New York) and *Abu al-Hawl* (São Paulo).

ODP Ottoman Decentralization Party (Hizb al-Lamarkaziyya al-Idariyya alʿUthmani). Established in Cairo in 1913. A loose coalition of societies seeking administrative reform in the Ottoman Arab provinces. Arabist organizations from Beirut, Jaffa, Damascus, and Basra (among others) organized under the ODP, as did the mahjari branches of Alliance Libanaise, al-Fatat, the United Syria Society, and the Lebanon League of Progress. One of the hosts of Paris 1913 Arab Congress.

NSNL New Syria National League (Jamʿiyyat Suriya al-Jadida al-Wataniyya). Established in New York City and Boston in 1918. Chairman Jurj Ilyas Khayrallah. Executive members included Najeeb Saleeby, Faris Malouf, Fuad Shatara, Philip K. Hitti, and Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. Promoted independence for greater Syria and, in 1919, a United States Mandate in cooperation with the Arab nationalist movement. Aligned with Cairo's Syrian Moderate Party and Buenos Aires' Free Democratic Nationalist Party. Disbanded after 1920, but reemerged in Michigan in 1925 as the New Syria Party.

SAC Syrian American Club (al-Muntada al-Suri al-Amriki). Established in New York City and Boston in 1917. Assisted Syrian immigrants with the US naturalization petitions as well as US Army enlistment. Closely affiliated with the United Syria Society and the Comité Central Syrien during the war, and with the New Syria National League after 1918. Associated serials: *al-Nasr* (New York), *Fatat Boston* (Boston).

SLLL Syria-Mount Lebanon League of Liberation (Lajna al-Tahrir Suriya wa-Lubnan). Established in New York City in 1917 by Ayyub Tabet,

Amin al-Rihani, N. T. Tadross, Khalil Gibran, Ilya Abu Madi, Shukri al-Bakhash, and Najib Diyab. Affiliated with the Comité Central Syrien through 1919. Associated serials: *al-Fatat, Mirat al-Gharb*.

SLPS Syrian Lebanese Patriotic Society (Sociedade Patriótica Síria Libanesa). Established in São Paulo in 1917 by Naʿimi Jafet. Affiliated with the Comité Central Syrien until early 1919, and with the New Syria National League.

SOUS Syrian Ottoman Union Society (Jamʿiyyat al-Ittihad al-Suri al-ʿUthmani). Established in New York in 1908, a semi-official advocacy club aligned with the Committee of Union and Progress party and the Ottoman Empire's consulate. After a series of disputes with the Ottoman consulate, it separated from the CUP hierarchy and changed its name to the United Syria Society (Jamʿiyyat al-Ittihad al-Suri) in late 1908. Also called the Syrian Union or Syrian American Association in English. Also aligned with the Syrian American Club and, during the war, with the Comité Central Syrien. Official organ: *al-Kawn*.

SPC Syrian Protestant College. Established in 1865 in Beirut; in 1920 its name changed to the American University of Beirut.

UMS Jamʿiyyat al-Ittihad al-Maruni (United Maronite Society). Established in New York City in 1921 by local clergy and Naʿum Mukarzil as a lay organization for Maronite political action. Acted as an early Chamber of Commerce linking Lebanese émigré commercial interests to historic Mount Lebanon.

Dramatis Personae

Emir Amin Arslan: b. Shwayfat (1868); d. Buenos Aires (1934). First and last Ottoman Consul General of Argentina (1910–1915). Partisan of the Syrian Union Society during the war. Critic of the French Mandate after 1920, author of *La revolución siria contra el mandato francés* (1926).

Jurj and Salwa Atlas: married in Homs and moved to São Paulo in 1914. Together they founded *al-Karma* (a literary serial), a girls' school, and a young men's fraternity, *Homs al-Fatat*. A pro-Hasmimite Arab nationalist, Jurj founded *al-Zahrawi* newspaper in 1916 and recruited Homsi men from Brazil for pro-Entente military service. Jurj Atlas established the São Paulo Homs Club (al-Nadi al-Homsi) in 1920.

Shukri al-Bakhash: b. Zahle (1889), d. Zahle. Partisan of the São Paulo Lebanon League of Progress in 1914, but by 1917 had moved to New York City. Editor

of New York City's *al-Fatat* newspaper (1917–1919), enlisted in the US Army and served the War Department as a translator, propagandist, and recruiter. Executive committee of the Syria Mount Lebanon League of Liberation. Returned to Lebanon after 1920.

Mundji Bey: Ottoman charge d'affaires of New York City. Member of the CUP, and deposed Hamidian Ambassador Mehmed ʿAli Bey Abed in Washington, D.C. following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. Served as interim ambassador before returning to New York. Sponsored the establishment of Syrian Ottoman Union Society of New York. Reassigned to London in 1909.

Najib Diyab: b. Roumieh, Mount Lebanon (1870); d. Brooklyn, New York (1936). Moved to New York in 1894, where he wrote for *Kawkab Amrika* before founding his own *Mirat al-Gharb* in 1899. Executive committee of Syrian Ottoman Union Society of New York (1908). Speaker at the First Arab Congress in Paris (1913). Executive committee of the Syria Mount Lebanon League of Liberation 1917–1919. Arab nationalist and critic of the French Mandate.

Shukri Ghanim: b. Beirut (1861); d. Paris (1929). Vice President on the First Arab Congress (1913). Founder/editor of *La Correspondance d'Orient* (1908), among others. Established the Comité Central Syrien with Georges Samné in 1916, and recruited Syrian men from the mahjar for the French Legion d'Orient through CCS. After 1918, supported a French Mandate for Greater Syria, a plan undermined by French sponsorship of an separate Greater Lebanon (*Grand Liban*).

Albert Hatem: b. Mount Lebanon 1894; d. 1981. Nephew of Naʿum Hatem, *al-Huda* correspondent and Lebanon League of Progress partisan. Enlisted in the US Army in 1917, served as a recruiter. Promoted to sergeant and served as color guard at victory celebrations in early 1919. Discharged in May 1919.

Naʿimi Jafet: b. Shwayr, Mount Lebanon (1860), d. São Paulo (1923). Built one of Brazil's largest cotton textile factories at Ypiranga in 1907. Established Brazil's Syrian Chamber of Commerce and the Syrian Lebanese Patriotic Society in 1917. Founder of the Hospital Sírio-Libanês of São Paulo in 1921.

Jurj Ilyas Khayrallah: chairman of the New Syria National League of New York (1919). Advocated for a United States Mandate over Greater Syria in 1919 and a treaty of friendship between America and the Arab nationalist movement. Corresponded with Faris Nimr on these topics.

Bishop Shukrallah al-Khuri: Maronite bishop sent to America to conduct an administrative census of Maronite emigrants in the Americas. Installed in Our Lady of Lebanon in Brooklyn, al-Khuri collected population data and information about Maronite clergy, ritual, and practice in 1921–1922. Some of his data

was included in the Lebanese Census of 1921 but also laid the foundation for the Maronite Church's reorganization in the mahjar after the war.

Shukri al-Khuri: Founder/editor of São Paulo's *Abu al-Hawl/ Espinghe* (1906). Established the São Paulo Lebanon League of Progress (1912), which declared war on the Ottoman Empire (against the wishes of the party's New York headquarters) in 1914. Lebanist and Pro-French Mandate after 1918.

Jurj Ibrahim Maʿtuq (George Abraham Matook): b. Boston, Massachusetts (1896); d. Berwyn, Illinois (1957). Drafted in 1917 and deployed to France with the 101st Engineer Corps, where he worked as an interpreter. Sponsored Syrian leatherworkers enlisting in the US army, and corresponded with the Syrian American Club of Boston and Wadiʿ Shakir while deployed. Worked in industrial laundry after he was decommissioned in 1919.

Naʿum Mukarzil: b. Freike, Mount Lebanon (1864); d. Paris (1932). Established *al-Huda* newspaper in 1898; by 1905, it was the largest Arabic language daily in the United States. In New York City, founded the Lebanon League of Progress (1911) and attended the First Arab Congress (1913). Recruited for the French Legion d'Orient and US Army during the war. Promoted a French Mandate for Greater Lebanon (*Grand Liban*) after 1918. Partisan of the United Maronite Society of New York.

Rev. Abraham Mitrie Rihbany: b. Shwayr, Mount Lebanon (1869); d. Stamford, Connecticut (1944). Presbyterian minister educated at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut before emigrating to New York City in 1897. Briefly edited *Kawkab Amrika* before taking on work as an advocate, social worker, and theologian. Raised humanitarian relief during the war, and wrote in favor of US trusteeship over Greater Syria. In 1919, appointed the New Syria National League's delegate to the Paris Peace Conference but was denied entry to its proceedings. Aligned with Hashimite Arab nationalism and anti-Zionism, critical of the French Mandate.

Dr. Khalil Saʿadih: b. Shwayr, Mount Lebanon (1857); d. São Paulo (1934). Graduated from Syrian Protestant College (1883); after emigrating to Egypt, moved to Buenos Aires (1914) and São Paulo (1919). Established serials *al-Majalla* (Buenos Aires), *al-Jarida* (São Paulo), and *al-Rabita* (São Paulo), among others. Member of the Syrian Masonic Society, and founder of the Free Democratic Nationalist Party in Argentina (1919). Pro-independence and host of the 1919 General Syrian Congress of Buenos Aires.

Najib Sawaya: editor of *al-Kawn* newspaper in New York City (1907–1909). Executive committee of the Syrian Ottoman Union Society.

Wadiʿ Ilyas Shakir: b. 1895; d. Boston, Massachusetts (1955). President of the Syrian American Club of Boston and aligned with the New Syria National League

Exploring the Variety of Random Documents with Different Content

No. III.

EL LIBRO DEL RABI SANTOB.

THE poetry of the Rabbi de Santob, whose name and title are spelt in different ways, is here printed from the manuscript in the National Library at Madrid, marked B. b. 82, folio, beginning at f. lxi. I have spoken of it, (Vol. I. pp. 86, 87,) and would repeat the wish there expressed, that the present copy should be collated with the one in the Library of the Escurial.

Como quiera que dize Salomon, e dize verdat, en el libro de los proverbios, "quien acrecienta ciencia, acrescienta dolor," pero que yo entiendo que a esto que el llama dolor que es trabajo del coraçon e del entendimiento. E asi no lo devemos tener al tal dolor por malo, ca el non lo dixo mal dolor, nin por que ome deue causa escusarse de la ciencia e de la buena arte en la ciencia es causa al entendido, poned le en folgura corporal e espiritual, e aun digo que Salomon antes cual e despues que escrivio e dixo en los dicho proverbios e el que acreçienta çiençia acresçienta dolor al acresçento ciencia amos del ade oy vista en la biblia que le e ... el dicho libro de proverbios e el libro de los cantares o canticores e el libro de vanidades o clesiasticas, e fiso el libro de sapiençia, amad justiçia los que judgades la tierra, e sea asy que se entiende que no lo dixo por mal dolor, casy lo el syntiera por dolor no se trabajara de acresçentar çiençia, pero este dolor es asemejado al trabajo de bien faser, que trabaja ome en yr luengo camino por alcançar conplimiento de su deseo, e es aquel trabajo folgura, gloria, e no dolor, aunque pasa por el por lo mucho del bien fase ninguno aquelo dolor, e asi que dixo, acreçienta dolor, por que quien mucho lee mucho trabaja, e mientra mas acresçienta el estudio mas acrescienta trabajo para el fruto que el entendides ssaca del tal trabajo para el fruto o dolor es de tamaña gloria que el trabajo e dolor con que se alcanço es ninguno e cosa olvidada e non sentyda, non enpecible mas antes fue, e es causa de bien e es afigurado, como sy disen a omen contar doblas para el ciento es que trabaja en el contar, pero mas pro saca myentra mas contare asi que non lo dixo por dolor es pecible ni malo, ca dolor ay que ome desea á las veses que con el avrie grant folgura e non syn el asi que es muchas veses deseado dolor et commo la tanger mañera que todavia cobdiçia aquel dolor mas que todas las folguras e viçios del mundo porque es causa de todo su deseo

asi que es dolor nesçesario o provechoso, e por esto non deve çesar de fablar çiençia el que sabe por cuyta de sofrir trabajos o dolor, mayor mente que es notorio, que vyene por devyna influyda de Dios en el omen que la asi que non la da Dios para que la calle nin para quel influydo solo salvo para faser bien commo la sacra ley que dio a Muyssen non sollamente para el mas para ssu pueblo de generaçion e aun para todos los nasçidos que a su ley sse allegaron, como dise Ysayas en el cº.

El linaje que lo serviere sera contado a el por publico suyo asi que el sseñor da sabiduria a uno para enseñarla a muchos, e puede aqui desir que qvien quisyere pues el señor Dios commo da la sabiduria a uno para enseñarla a muchos, tan bien la podria dar á los muchos e en verdat para que o porque es esto diria yo a el respondote que tan bien podria dar Dios la ley syn que se enseñase por escritura a cada nasçido pero no se le entendia ni seria sabido que bynya de Dios, nin por acarreamiento del Espiritu Sancto asy que non seria Dios tan conoscido, e por esto es en el secreto de Dios vien lo que a nos non se entyende, ca el Señor todas las cosas que el fiso e son con sabiduria acabada que es en el asi que devemos creer que es bien aprender que quien pretende e entender del que entyende e punar en el tal trabajo que naçe dello gloria e folgura asi que non es dolor doloroso, mas es dolor provechoso. Pues asi es, plaziendo a Dios, declarare algo en las trobas de Rabisantob el Judio de Carrion en algunas partes que parescen escritas aunque no son escritas salvo por quanto son trobas e todas escritura rymada paresçe entrepatada e non lo es que por guardar los consonantes disce algunas veses lo que ha de desir despues disce lo antes. E esto quiero yo trabajar en declarar con el ayuda de Dios para algunos que pueden ser que leeran e non entenderan syn que otro gelas declare commo algunas veses la he ya visto esto por cuanto syn dubda las dichas trobas son muy notable escritura, que todo omen la deviera de curar, ca esta fue la entençion del sabio Raby que las fiso, por que escritura rimada es mejor decorada que non la que va por testo llano, e dise asy el prologo de sus rymas es veynte e tres coplas fasta de quiero desir del mundo.

Señor Rey, noble, alto,
Oy este sermon,
Que vyene desyr Santob,
Judio de Carrion,

Comunalmente trobado
De glosas moralmente,
De la filosofia sacado
Segunt que va syguiente.

Quando el Rey Don Alfonso
Fyno, fynco la gente,
Como quando el pulso

Fallesçe al doliente.

Que luego non ayudaua,
Que tan grant mejoria
A ellos fyncaua,
Nin omen lo entendia.

Quando la rosa seca
En su tiempo sale,
El agua della fynca
Rosada que mas vale.

Asi vos fyncastes del
Para mucho turar,
E faser lo que el
Cobdiciava librar.

Como la debda mia
Que a vos muy poco monta
Con la qual yo podria
Bevyr syn toda onta,

Estando con cuyta
De miedos de pecados,
Que muchos fis syn cuyta,
Menudos e granados.

Teniame por muerto,
Mas vyno me el talante
Un cornote muy cierto,
Que me fiso vien andante.

Omen torpe, syn seso,
Seria a Dios baldon
La tu maldat en peso
Poner con su perdon.

El te fiso nascer,
Byves en merced suya;
Como podria vencer
A su obra la tuya?

Pecar es la tu maña,

E la suya perdonar,
El alongar la saña,
Los yerros oluidar.

Bien commo es mas alto
El cielo que la tierra,
El su perdon es tanto
Mayor que la tu yerra.

Segunt el poder suyo
Tanto es la su obra suya,
Segunt el poder tuyo
Tal es la obra tuya.

Obrar de omen que nada
Es todo el su fecho,
Es su vyda penada,
Es a muy poco trecho.

Como seria tan grande
Como la del Criador,
Que todo el mundo anda
E fas en derredor

Andar aquella rueda
El sol e las estrellas,
E jamas nunca queda,
E sabe cuenta dellas.

Quanto el tu estado
Es ante la tu gloria,
Monta el tu pecado
A su mysiricordia.

Seria cosa estraña
Muy fuera de natura,
La tu yerra tamaña
Ser como su mesura.

Et desto non temas
Que ser non podria,
En que non tornes jamas
En la tu rebeldia,

Mas en te arrepentyr
E fazer oraçion,
Et merced le pedyr
Con magnifestaçion

De todo lo pasado,
E partyr de lo mano,
Con tanto perdonado
Seras bien de lyviano.

Et non sabe la persona
Torpe que non se baldona
Por las priesas del mundo
Que nos da a menudo.

I non sabe que la manera
Del mundo esta era,
Tener syempre viciosos
A los onbres astrosos,

Et ser [de] guerreados
Los omes onrrados,
Alça los ojos a cata
E veras la mar alta,

Et sobre las sus cuestas
Anda cosas muertas,
E yazen çafondadas
En el piedras presciadas.

Et el peso asi
Avaga otro si,
La mas llena balança
E la mas vasya alça.

Et en el çielo estrellas
E sabe cuenta dellas,
Non escuresçen dellas una,
Sy non el sol e la luna.

Las mys canas teñilas,
Non por las auorrescer,

Ni por desdesyrlas,
Nin mançebo parescer,

Mas con miedo sobejo
De omes que bastarian
En mi seso de viejo,
E non lo fallarian.

Pues trabajo me mengua,
Donde puede auer,
Prodire de mi lengua
Algo de mi saber.

Quando no es lo que quiero,
Quiero yo lo que es;
Si pesar he primero,
Plaser avré despues.

Mas pues aquella rueda
Del cielo una ora
Jamas non esta queda,
Peora et mejora,

Aun aqueste laso
Renovara el escripto,
Este pandero manso
Aun el su rretynto;

Sonara vernaadia,
Avra su libertad,
Paresçio como solia
Valer el su quintal.

Yo proue lo pesado,
Prouare lo lyviano,
Quiça mudare fado
Quando mudare la mano.

Resçele si fablase
Que enojo faria,
Por si me callase
Por torpe fyncaria.

Quel que no se muda,
Non falla lo que plas;
Disen que ave muda
Aguero nunca fas.

Porque pisan poquella,
Saron tierra perlando;
Omes que pisan ella
Para siempre callando.

Entendi que en callar
Avri grant mejoria,
Avorresçi fablar
E fueme peoria.

Que non so para menos
Que otros de mi ley,
Que ovieron buenos
Donadios del Rey.

Syn mi rrason ser buena
Non sea despreçiada
Por que la dis presona
Rafez que mucha espada.

De fyno azero sano
Sale de rrota vayna;
Salir e del gusano
Se fare la seda fyna.

E astroso garrote
Fare muy ciertos trechos,
E algunt astroso pellote
Cubre blancos pechos.

Et muy sotil trotero
Aduze buenas nuevas,
E muy vil vezerro
Presenta ciertas prueuas.

Por nascer en el espino
No val la rosa cierto
Menos, nin el buen vyno

Por nascer en el sarmyento.

Non val el açor menos
Por nascer de mal nido,
Ni los enxemplos buenos
Por los dezir Judio.

Non me desdeñen por corto,
Que mucho Judio largo
Non entraria a coto
A fazer lo que yo fago.

Bien se que nunca tanto
Quatro tyros de lança
Alcançaria quanto
La saeta alcança;

Et rrazon muy granada
Se diz en pocos versos,
E cinta muy delgada
Suffre costados gruesos.

Et mucho ome entendido,
Por ser vergonçoso,
Es por torpe tenido
E llamado astroso.

Et sy viese sazon
Mejor e mas apuesta,
Diria su razon
Aquel que lo denuesta.

Quiero dezir del mundo
E de las sus maneras,
E commo del dubdo
Palabras muy certeras.

Que non se tomar tiento,
Nin fazer pleytesia,
De acuerdos mas de çiento
Me torno cada dia.

Lo que uno demuestra

Veo a otro loallo,
Lo que este apuesta
Veo a otro afeallo.

La vara que menguada
La diz el comprador,
Esta mesma sobrada
La diz el vendedor.

El que lança la lança
Semejale vaguarosa,
Pero al que alcança
Semejale presurosa.

Dize, sy quier no diese
Pan nin vyno al suelo
En tal que ome viese
Ya la color del çielo.

Olvidado amenos
Su color con nublados,
Con lodos non podemos
Andar por los mercados.

Lo mucho non es nunca
Vueno nin de espeçia fyna,
Mas vale contrilla poca
Que mucha melezyna.

Non puede cosa ninguna
Syn fyn mucho cresçer,
Desque fynche la luna
Torrne a fallesçer

A todo ome castigo
De sy mesmo se guarde
Mas que de enemigo
Con tanto seguro ande.

Guardese de su envidia,
Guardese de su saña,
Guardese de su cobdiçia,
Que es la peor maña.

Non puede ome tomar
En la cobdiçia tyento;
Es profundo mar,
Syn orilla e syn puerto.

De alcançar una cosa
Nasce cobdiçia de otra;
Mayor e mas sabrosa
Que mengua bien de sobra.

Quien buena piel tenia
Que el amplia para el frio,
Tabardo non pidiria
Jamas, sy non por vrio.

Por quel su veryno
Buen tabardo tenia,
Con zelo el mesquino
En cuydado venia.

Fue buscar tabardo,
E fallolo a otir acuesta
Por otro mas onrrado
Para de fyesta en fiesta.

Et sy este primero
Tabardo non fallara,
Del otro di santero
Jamas non se membrara.

Quando lo poco vyene
Cobdiçia de mas cresçe;
Quanto mas ome tyene
Tanto mas le fallesçe.

Et quanto mas alcança
Mas cobdiçia dos tanto,
Alfyn desque calça
Calças tyene por quebranto.

De andar de pye camino
E va buscar rroçyn;

De calçar calças vyno
A cobdiçia syn fyn.

Para el rrocyn quier ome
Quel piense e çeuada,
Establo e buen pesebre
E desto todo nada.

No te menguava nada,
Las calças non tenia;
Los çapatos solados
Su jornada conplia.

Yo fallo en el mundo
Dos omes e non mas,
E fallar nunca puedo
El terçero jamas;

Un buscador que cata
E non alcança nunca,
E otro que nunca se farta
Fallando quanto busca;

Quien falle e se farte
Yo non puedo fallarlo;
Que pobre bien andante
E rrico omen llamarlo.

Que non ya omen pobre
Synon el cobdiçioso,
Nin rrico synon ome
Con lo que tiene gozoso.

Que en lo quel cumple quiere
Poco le abondara,
E quen sobras quesyere
El mundo non le cabra.

Quanto cumple a omen de su,
De su algo sy syrve;
De lo demas es syenpre
Syervo a quanto vyve,

Todo el dia lazrado,
Corrido por traello;
A la noche cuytado
Por miedo de perdello.

El tanto non le plaze
Del algo que averlo,
Quanto pesar le faze
El miedo de perderlo.

Non se farta non le carbiendo
En afan nin en talega;
Et lazra non sabiendo
Para quien lo allega.

Syenpre las almas grandes,
Queriendose honrrar,
Fazen en sus demandas
A los cuerpos lazrar.

Por conplir sus talantes
Non les dexan folgar;
Fazen los viandantes
De logar en logar.

La alma granada vyene
A perderse con el çelo,
Quanto que demas tyene
Su vesyno un pelo.

Tyende grant miedo fuerte
Que le aventajaria,
E non le membraria de la muerte
Que los ygualaria.

Por buscar lo demas
Es quanto mal auemos;
Por lo necessario jamas
Mucho non le lazraremos.

Sy non que te mengue quieres
Dexa la tu cobdiçia;
Lo que auer podieres

Solo eso cobdiçia

Tanto es un debdo fuera
De la rraya asignada,
Commo si lueñe tierra fuera
Dende una jornada.

Quanto mas que auia
Pesar el omen loco,
En lo queste perdia
Por mucho que por poco.

Quando por poco estoruo
Perdio lo que buscaua,
Del grant pesar que ovo
Nunca se conortava.

Non sabe que por cobrirse
Del ojo cunple tanto
Un lienço, como si fuese
Muro de cal i canto.

Tanto se lo que yaze
Detras del destajo,
Quanto se lo que faze
El de allende tajo.

Lo que suyo non era,
Tanto, con dos pasadas,
Lueñe, como sy fuera
Dende veynte jornadas.

Tan lueñe es de ayer
Commo el año pasado,
Es quien ha de ser
De feridas guardado.

Tanto val un escudo
Entre el e la saeta,
Como sy todo el mundo
Entre el e ella meta.

Ca pues non lo firio,

Tal es un dedo cerca
Del, commo la que dio
Allende la çerca.

El dia de ayer tanto
Alcançar podemos,
Nin mas nin menos quanto
Oy null años faremos.

Tu por mucho andar
Alyñar lo pasado,
Nin pierde por quedar
Lo que non es llegado.

Tan fea nin fermosa,
En el mundo ya ves,
Se puede alcançar cosa
Sinon por su reves.

Quien ante non esparze
Trigo, non allega,
Sy con tierra non ayaze
A espiga nunca llega.

Non se puede coger rosa
Syn pisar las espynas,
La miel es dulce cosa
Mas tyen agras vezyna.

La pas non se alcança
Synon con guerrear;
Non se gana folgança
Synon con el lazrar.

Por la grant mansedat
A ome fallaran;
E por grant crueldat
Todos lo aborresçeran.

Por la grant escaseza
Tener lo ha por poco;
Por mucha franqueza
Rrazonar lo ha por loco.

Sy tacha non oviese
En el mundo pobreza,
Non aunque valiese
Tanto como la flaqueza.

Mas ha en ella una
Tacha que le enpesce
Mucho, que commo la luna
Mengua e despues cresce.

La franqueza sosobra
Es de toda costunbre,
Que por usar la cobra
Saber las cosas onbre.

Lo que omen mas usa,
Eso mejor aprenda,
Sy non es esta cosa
Que por usar la mas pierde.

Usando la franqueza,
No se puede escusar
De venir a pobreza,
Que en mucho la usar.

Que todavia dando
Non fyncaria que dar,
Asi que franqueando
Menguara al franquear.

Commo la candela mesma,
Tal cosa es al ome
Franco, que ella se quema
Por dar a otro lunbre.

Al rey solo conviene
De usar la franqueza,
E siguranҫa tyene
De non venyr a pobreza.

A otro non es bien
Sy non lo comunal;

Dar e tener convien;
E lo demas es mal.

Sy omen dulce fuere
Commo agua lo veneran,
E sy agro sopiere
Todos lo escopiran.

Sy quier por se guardar
De los astreros omes
A menudo mudar
Deve las costunbres.

Que tal es ciertamente
El come commo el viso,
Rrecelando la gente
Ante que lo han pasado.

Uno dando vozes
Donde entrades,
Fondo es cient braças
Que vos aventurades;

Desque a la orilla pasa
Diz que dubdades;
No dan a la rodilla,
Pasad e non temades.

Et bien tal es el ome,
Desque es barruntado
En alguna costunbre,
Por ella es entrado.

Por esto los omes,
Por se guardar de dampno,
Deven mudar costunbres
Como quien muda damno.

Oy bravo, cras manso;
Oy sinple, cras lozano;
Oy largo, cras escaso;
Oy en cerro, cras en llano.

Una vez umildança,
E otra vez baldon;
E un tienpo vengança,
E en otro tienpo perdon.

Bien esta el perdon
Al que se puede vengar,
E soffrir el baldon
Quando se puede negar.

Con todos non convienen
Usar por un ygual,
Mas a los unos con bien,
A los otros con mal.

Pagado e sanudo
Vez dexa e vez tien,
Que non ha mal en el mundo
En que non ay bien.

Tomar del mal lo menos
E lo demas del bien;
A malos e a buenos,
A todos estos convien.

Honrrar por su bondat,
Al bueno es prouado;
Al malo de maldat
Suya por ser nunca dado.

Lo peor del buen ome
Que non vos faga bien,
Que dano de costunbre
Del bueno nunca vyen.

Et lo mejor del malo
Que mas del non ayades,
Ca nunca bien fallarlo
En el non entendades.

Pues ser ome manso
Con todos non convien;
Mas oy priesa, eras paso;

Vezes mal, vezes bien.

El que quisiere folgar
Ha de lazrir primero,
Sy quiere a paz llegar
Sea antes guerrero.

Al que torrna al robo
Fuelga maguer le agrado,
Plazer al ojo del lobo
Con el polvo del ganado.

Sienbra cordura tanto
Que non nasca paresa,
E verguença, en quanto
Non la llamen torpeza.

Fizo para lacerio
Dios al ome nascer,
Por yr de feria en feria
A buscar do guarescer.

Por rruas e por feria
A buscar su ventura,
Ca es muy grant soberuia
Quere pro con folgura.

Non ha tal folgura
Commo lazeria conpró,
E quien por su cordura
Su entencion cunplio.

Quien por su seso cierto
Quiere acabar su fecho,
Una vez entre ciento
No sacaria provecho.

Ca en las aventuras
Yaze la pro colgada,
E es con las locuras
La ganancia conprada.

Quien las cosas dubdadere,

Todas non se meseran;
De lo que cobdiciare
Poco acavara.

Por la mucha cordura
Es la pro estoruada,
Pues en la aventura
Esta la pro colgada.

Pues por rregla derecha,
Derecha el mundo non se guia;
El mucho dubdar echan
A ome en astrosia.

Mal seso manifiesto
Non digo yo usar,
Quel peligro presto
Deuelo escusar.

Mas ygual uno de otro
El menguar e el sobrar,
A lazrar o encuentro
Deuese aventurar.

Quien vestyr non quiere
Sy non piel syn yjada,
De frio que fizyere
Avra rraçon doblada.

Quien de la pro quiere mucha
A de perder e vrio;
Quien quiere tomar trucha
Aventurese al rrio.

Quien los vientos guardare
Todos non se abraran,
E quien las trunes guardare
Jamas non segara.

Non syn noche dia,
Nin segar syn senbrar,
Nĩ ha fumo syn fuego,
Nĩ reyr syn llorar.

Nō ay syn corro luēgo,
Nī syn tarde ayna,
Nī ha fumo syn fuego,
Nī syn comas faryna.

Nī ganar syn perder,
Nī syn luxar altera,
Saluo en Dios poder
Quel y a syn flaqueza.

Nī ha syn tacha cosa,
Nī cosa syn soçobra,
Nī syn fea fermosa,
Nī sol nō ha syn sonbra.

La vondat de la cosa
Saben por su rreues;
Por agra la sabrosa,
La faz por el reues.

Syn noche nō ouiesemos,
Ninguna mejoria
Conoscer lo sabriamos
A la lunbre del dia.

Nō ha piel syn yjadas,
Nī luēgo syn despues,
Nī viētre syn espaldas,
Nī cabeça syn pies.

Demas q son muy pocos
Los q saben el seso,
Tā poco como de los locos
Los cuerdos por un peso.

Uno nō sabe el quanto
Buscar de lo q deue,
E el otro dos tanto
Del derecho se atreue.

El uno por allēde
Buscar de su derecho,

E otro por aquende
Nō ovieron provecho.

Et los q trabajaron
De los en paz meter,
Por muy torpes fyncaron
Solo en lo cometer.

De sy dan cuēta cyerta,
Qēn orgullo mantyē,
Que poco en su tyesta
De meollo nō tyē.

Que sy nō fuere loco
Nō usaria asy,
Si conosciese un poco
Al mūdo e a sy.

Sy esta paz fysiera
Ligero fuera luego
De creer que boluiera
Al agua con el fuego.

Usa el omē noble
A los altos alçarse,
Synple e cōuenible
A los baxos mostrarse.

Muestra la su grandeza
A los desconoscidos,
E muestra grant synpleza
A los baxos caydos.

Es en la su pobreza
Alegre e pagado,
E en la su riqueza
Muy synple mesurado.

Su pobreza encubre,
Dase por viē andante;
E la su pries a sufre
Mostrādo buē talāte.

Reues usa el vyllano
Abaxādose a los mayores;
Alto e loçano
Se muestra á los menores.

Mas de quantas es dos tanta
Muestra su mal ādança,
E el mundo espāta
En la su buena andāça.

En la su mala andança
Et mas baxos q tierra,
E en su buena andança
Al cielo quere dar guerra.

Al que oyr q syere
Las trueuas del villano,
Por que quādo lo vyere
Lo conosca de plano.

Nō far nada por rruego,
E la pena cōsyente;
Que brantadlo e luego
Vos sera obendiēte.

Corno el arco lo cuento
Yo en todo su fecho,
Que fasta q el fare tuerto
Nunca fare derecho.

Peor es leuantarse
Un malo en la gēte,
Mucho mas q perderse
Diez buenos ciertamente.

Ca perderse los buenos,
Cierto el bien fallesçe;
Pero el daño menos
Es el ql mal cresçe.

Quando el alto cae
El baxo se leuāta,
Uida al fumo trae

El fuego q amata.

El caer del rroçio
Faz leuantar yeruas,
Onrraste con el ofeçio
Del señor las syeruas.

Omē que la paz qēres,
E nō semer merino,
Qual para ty quisyeres
Quieras para tu vezyno.

Fijo de omē q te querellas,
Quando lo q te aplaze
Nō se cunple e rrebellas
En Dios porque nō faze.

Todo lo q tu queres
E andas muy yrado,
Nō te miēbras q eres
De vil cosa criado?

De una gota suzya
Podrida e dañada,
E tyenes te por luzya
Estrella, muy presçiada.

Pues dos vezes paresciste,
Camino muy abiltado,
Locura es preciarte,
Daste por mēguado.

E mas q un moxquito
El tu cuerpo nō ual;
Desque aquel espryto
Q el mesçe del cal.

Nō se te mīetra tu cima
E andas de galope,
Pisando sobre la syma
Do las muestra dō lope.

Que tu señor seria

Mill vezes, et gusanos
Comē de noche e de dia
Su rrostro e sus manos.

Mucho te maravillas,
Tyenes te por mēguado,
Por q todas las villas
Nō mandas del rregnado.

Eres rrico, nō te fartas,
E tyenes te por pobre,
Cō codicia q as, nō catas
Si ganas para otre.

E de tu algo pocas,
Para envolver tus huesos
Abras varas pocas
De algunos lienços gruessos

Lo al heredara
Alguno q nō te ama,
Para ty nō fyncara
Sola la mala fama,

Del mal q en tus dias
E la mala verdat
En las plaças fazyas
E en tu poridat,

Quando las tus cobdicias
Ganar para ser mītroso,
Por muy sabio te presçias
E antes por astroso.

Et los enxemplos buenos
Nō murieron jamas,
E quanto es lo de menos
Tanto es lo demas.

El seso, certero
Al q da Dios ventura
Acierta de ligero
E non por su cordura.